A DEFENCE OF THE Present Government UNDER King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

SHEWING

The Miseries of *England* under the Arbitrary Reign OF THE Late KING *JAMES* II.

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Reasonableness of the Proceedings against him, and the Happiness that will certainly follow a peaceable Submission to, and Standing by King *William* and Q. *Mary*.

By a Divine of the Church of *England*.

LONDON,
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J. Phraser.

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A DEFENCE OF THE Present Government.

WHat miserable Circumstances we lay under, during the late *arbitrary Reign*; by *Rapes* and *Violences* committed upon our *Religion*, and *Laws*, by the impudent *Violation* of the most sacred *Oaths* and *Promises*, by the *Invasion* of *Property*, and general *Corruption* of *Justice*, is a thing so palpable and notorious, that 'tis allmost incredible any men but *Papists* should be in *Love* with it; and yet by sad Experience we find there is a *degenerous Race of Protestants* among us, that seem to be fond of their former *Slavery*, and, like the Children of *Israel*, are hankering after the Fleshpots of *Ægypt*; they are infatuated with the name of *Divine Right of Monarchy*, and being carried headlong with that *fallacious Notion*, fall into a *Frenzy* and *Madness* against the present *Lawfull* Authority.

Almighty God has no where determined in his Word a *Model* for our *Civil Government*, but has left us, as *all other Nations*, to such a *Form* as shall be agreed upon by the People; and where this *Agreement* is not, 'tis not properly *Government* but *Tyranny*; for without it the Judicious Mr. *Hooker* says, "There *Eccl. Pol. l. 1. c. 10. p. 86.* "is no reason why one man should take up- "on him to be Judge or Lord over another; because for "the Manifestation of this their Right, and mens more "peaceable Contentment on both sides, the Assent of "them who are to be governed seemeth necessary." And a little after he says, "All publick Regiment, of what "kind soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from deli- "berate Advice, Consultation, and Composition between "men, judging it convenient and behooveful.

And what he says concerning the Power of Government, he applies to the Power of *Making* of Laws, whereby to govern, and shews, "That the lawful Power "of making Laws to command whole politick Societies, "belongs so properly to the same entire Societies; that "for any Prince or Potentate, of what kind soever upon "Earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not either by "express Commission Immediately and Personally receiv- "ved from God; or else by Authority derived at first "by their Consent upon whose Persons they impose Laws, "it is no better than mere Tyranny. And he adds, Laws "they are not therefore, which publick Approbation "hath not made so.

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The Judgment of this great Man I could back with very many good Authorities; but there is no need, he alone being *Instar Omnium*, Equal to All, whose Five first Books of Ecclesiastical Polity have been received as Oracles, even by those very Persons who now differ from him.

When this Authour makes for them, as he does abundantly in vindicating Church Ceremonies, then he is the *LEARNED & JUDICIOUS* Mr. *HOOKER*, but when he goes against their *Interest*, though not against the *Truth*, then he is decried, and branded with being Erroneous. But 'tis not Mr. *Hooker*'s Fate alone to be thus dealt with; for they treat all Authours as ill, that are against their Exotick and new fangled Notions of Sovereignty and Allegiance: For when the Authour is not for them, they resolve to be against the Authour, though it should be against Reason.

The *Jewish Theocracy* is no Precedent to the *English Monarchy*; there God immediately governed; he gave that Nation all their Laws, Moral, Judiciary, and Ceremonial; but we can make no pretence to such a *Divine Conduct*; we must have recourse to the *wholsome Laws and Customs of our Country*, for our Direction in *Civil Proceedings*.

Neither our Saviour, nor his Apostles, intermeddled with *Civil Government*, but left that as they found it. Christ's Kingdom was not of *this World*, and therefore he and his Apostles meddled no farther with the *Kingdoms of the World*, than to teach all their Duties in their

respective Stations, the *Magistrates* to *rule*, and the *People* to *obey* in the Fear of God. I know not where they command a Passive Obedience to Illegal Obedience; if the Law be for a Man, it cannot be *Rebellion* in him to defend himself by it; but if the Law be against a man, then he has a proper Reason for the exercise of Non-resistence.

The Apostle bids us *be subject to the Higher Powers, because the Powers that be, are ordained of God*, Rom. 13. 1. But he does not command us this without restriction, *for Rulers ought not to be Terrour to good Works, but to the evil*, being appointed *for the punishment of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them that do well*, 1 Pet. 2. 14. This is the End of their Government, and the reason of our Obedience.

When they govern according to the Laws of our Country, and discourage Vice by Punishing it, and encourage Vertue by Rewards, Resistence is then *Rebellion* with a Witness, but when *Rulers* fail in all this, and of *Nursing Fathers* (which they should be) degenerate into *bloody Murtherers* of their Country, (which they ought not to be,) *Resistence* is not *Rebellion*, but a just and lawfull Defence against unjust and unlawfull Oppression.

The Standard then of our Civil Government is the Law of the Land. It is superiour to all Orders and Ranks of Men, and looks with an equal Aspect upon the Prince and People. According to this Law we ought to be governed, and when contrary

trary to this Law we are inabled, (as we were in the late King's time in every thing that was near and dear to us,) we may justly defend our selves against such illegal Doings at home, and join with a Stranger that will take upon him to protect us against the Cruelties of an Arbitrary Power. In such a Case as this we may take the best means we can for our *Safety*. Must the Lives of *Innocent Millions* be endangered to gratifie *One Man's Arbitrary Lust*? Must *Popery* be set up contrary to our *Laws* and *Oaths*, as well as *Scripture*, and the best *Antiquity*? Must we deny our *Senses* and *Reason* to become *Christians*? Must we be *forc'd* to *embrace* a *Religion* that has not so much *Charity* in it as *Mahometanism*, and much less *moral Justice and Honesty*? And must we be content to wear the *Chains* and *Fetters* of *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Slavery*, when we may enjoy a *Gospel Service*, which is *perfect Freedom*, and live under the *surest* and *best* of *Governments*? Should we consent to all this, as it cannot be avoided if the late King's Interests must be advanced, *Bedlam* or *Bridewell* were the fittest place for us.

There has nothing been done (saving some enormities of the *Mobile*) in this *great* and *wonderfull Revolution*, but is justifiable before *God* and the *World*, from *Scripture*, from *Reason*, and the *Constitution and Practice of this Kingdom*. Let us go according to the Apostle's Advice, *Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath* (by his Glorious Instrument) *made us free, and be not entangled again with the Yoke of* (the Roman) *bondage*. Gal. 5. 1.

Let the *Scruples* of those which *refuse* to take the *Oath* of *Allegiance* to K. *William* and Q. *Mary weigh nothing* with us: For doubtless we are discharged of our Obligation to the late King *James*, and among others for these Reasons; his *Arbitrariness*, *breach of Contract*, *withdrawing his Protection*, *selling us for Slaves to a Foreign Prince and State*, *and conspiring against us in a hostile manner*. And the *Crown* being now K. *W*'s and Q. *M*'s by *Right* and *Fact*, being settled upon them by a *Parliament lawfully called*, *lawfully chosen*, and *lawfully proceeding*, notwithstanding all the *factious* and *slanderous Pamphlets*, The **Dissertion discussed**, **The History of the Convention**, or, **New-Christened Parliament**, *&c.* We are obliged in Conscience to bear *Faith* and true *Allegiance* to their *Majesties*, and when required to *swear the same*, They are our *lawfull Governours*, We live under their *Protection*, and therefore they deserve our *Allegiance*.

There are some *Laymen* as well as *Divines*, that lodg the *supreme Power* solely in the *Person* of the *King*, and make him *anuptheros*, *unaccountable* to any but God. They farther say, **he can doe no Wrong**, and *the whole guilt of Male-Administration lies upon his Ministers*, but **he is Innocent**.

But these are Maxims that were first invented by Court *Parasites*, and *Flatterers*, raised by the Prince's *Favour*, and live by his *Bread*, and have ever since been maintained by a *Generation* of the *same Stamp*.

Were our *Government* an *absolute Monarchy*, an Exception would not lie; but being *limitted*, the *King* is *accountable*

countable to the *Kingdom* represented in *Parliament*, for all the *Outrages* and *Oppressions* committed by his means; otherwise *Laws* and *Parliaments* would be *useless*, *Liberty* and *Property empty Names*. And whereas, say they, the King **can doe no Wrong**, unless it be understood with this limitation, *He acting by, and according to Law*, He may, no doubt, be altogether as **Arbitrary** as the **Grand Seignior**.

These are *pernicious Positions*, and advance the *English* Monarchy too high, because they infer an *Inerribility* in the *King*, which is as dangerous to the *State*, as *Infallibility* to the *Church*.

Let then every true Patriot and *Englishman* fix here: *That the King is intrusted with the Executive power of the Law for the good of the People, and the People are to obey and assist him in the Execution of this high Trust; but if he abuses this Power, as the Disserter did, to the manifest Oppression of his People, the People represented in Parliament may take that Trust from him, and give it to another, who will govern them in* Justice *and* Clemency, *and defend them in their* Religious *and* Civil Rights.

And now (methinks) 'tis strange that any who are called *Protestants*, should declare *Love* for the *Reformed Religion*, and yet say, they cannot in Conscience *Renounce* the *late King*. The *Protestant* and *Popish* Interest are as contrary as *Fire* and *Water*, and a *Popish Head* upon a *Protestant Body*, is like committing a Flock of *harmless Sheep* to the Custody of a *Ravenous Wolf*: They shall be *kept*, but it is only for *Prey* and *Destruction*.

We cannot have a *Popish King* without a *Popish Religion*, either *tolerated*, or *authorized* in this Nation. *Tolerated* it may be for a time, as 'twas in the *late violent Reign*, but that *Toleration* was purely to get strength enough to it, till it was able to weather all Opposition, and then to have given it the *Protection* of a *Law*; so that the *Adherence* to, and *Espousing* of the late King's Cause, can signifie no less in the natural tendency and construction of it, than an *Affection* for Popery, and the miserable consequences thereof, the Loss of *English* Liberty and *Property*; seeing the one cannot be had without the other.

It is now farther made apparent, that His *Interest* and the *French* King's are linked together, their *Counsels* and *Designs* the same, Both conspiring in one *great Plot*, to *extirpate* the *Protestant Religion* in General.

What *Friends* then his *Favourers* are to the *Reformed Religion*, may be seen plain enough without the help of Spectacles. Whereas we ought to *Oppose* him as a *publick Enemy*, even with our *Lives* and *Fortunes*; and, as a Branch of our just Allegiance to their *present Majesties*, discover all Treasonable Attempts and Practices against them, and vigorously support their *Crown* and *Dignity* against the *blasphemous Harangues*, and *seditious Libels*, that are too frequently vented among us.

But (alas!) how soon have some men forgot both the *Day*, and the *glorious Instrument* of our *Deliverance*? What Murmuring and Discontent, what false Fears and Jealousies, what unkind Returns and Prejudices, would,

if it were possible, darken the Son of the most *Heroick Prince*, and pervert the Ends of the most *christianly generous Enterprize* in the World? Were we not appointed as *Sheep* for the *Slaughter*? But God sent him to interpose between the Knife and the Sacrifice. When the great Tree of our *Government* was in a manner quite cut down by the *Romish Axes*, he came and *secured* it from falling, and made it grow again even to a Miracle. If ever a Deliverer was worthy of the chief Seat in our Affections, it must be this *Incomparable Prince*. Trophies and Statues, and *Panegyrical Orations*, are fit for those Ambitious Monarchs who have no *Real* and *Intrinsick* Worth; but the Unparallel'd *Vertues* of our *Excellent* Deliverer, as they are far above such poor, perishing Pageantry, so his *Merits* will beget him a more *lasting Monument* of Love, Loyalty, and Gratitude in the Hearts of his People.

In a word, We are, under God, indebted to *Him* for all that we *have*, for our *Religion*, our Laws, our Lives, our Liberties and Estates. What an *Infamy* then will it bring upon us and our Memories to be *ungratefull*?

I would therefore advise all those who go under the Denomination of *Protestants*, and yet appear *stickers* for the *late Kings Interest*, to make timely Retractation, and endeavour to compensate the *Disservice* they have done the Protestant *Cause*, by a chearfull and hearty *compliance* with the present Government, and by paying henceforward a *conscientious Obedience* to their gracious *Majesties K. William* and *Q. Mary*.

And particularly, let those of the *Clergie*, whose *past Obstinacy* has been a constant Lecture of *Rebellion* to the People, change their *Text*, and let their future *good Example* be a Ser-

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mon of *Obedience*. Let them doe their *Duty* as *Divines*, and leaving *civil Things* to the *civil Powers*, approve themselves the *Ambassadours of Christ*, by preaching those *Healing Doctrines* of Humility, Peace, and Love, and by speaking all the *same thing*. And that they may not frustrate one of the most glorious Ends of his *Majesties* Declaration, (*Decl.* p. 13.) printed at the *Hague*, *Octob.* 8. 1688. *the Establishing of a good Agreement between the* Church of England *and all Protestant Dissenters*; Let them (whether *Fathers* or *Sons* of the Church) be intreated to lay down all *Anger* and *Dissention* about *Indifferent Things*, and that Spirit of *Persecution* which by *Estranging* our Brethren, and *hindering* their *Union*, hath formerly too much *weakened our own*, and strengthened the *Roman* Party.

Consider our Saviour hath recommended to us the Spirit of Love, *Meekness*, and *Moderation*; and the Apostle hath commanded us to have *no Divisions*, *but to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, *and in righteousness of life*.

What a *monstrous Folly* and *Madness* is it to differ about *Indifferent Things*, and not at all *necessary* to Salvation? To quarrel about the Bark, about the Shell and Cortex of *Religion*?

Remember we have strove so long already about *Rites* and *Accidents*, that we had almost lost the very *Substance* of true Religion. God in his Mercy has delivered us, let us sin no more, lest we provoke him still to scourge us.

If this passionate but modest Address may prevail to influence those for whom it is writ, then shall the Hopes and Designs of *Rome* and *France* be defeated, our Fears shall vanish, our Religion and our Laws shall triumph, and the Golden Age be restored to these Kingdoms.

FINIS.

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